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MYSTICISM AND THE WORKER

DULLES REACHES FOR HIS COLD WAR

LATOURETTE WHITEWASHES OPPRESSION

"SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER"

Vol. XI, No. 11 30 cents

DULLES REACHES FOR HIS COLD WAR

The East-West deadlock at Geneva remains unbroken as we write this issue. According to our daily newspaper it would appear that the western plan was framed expressly to soothe Russian fears of possible aggression from a re-united Germany. Even a system was proposed according to which radar stations in Czechoslovakia would be operated by Western personnel and stations in Germany by the Communists.

This might be humorous were it not so tragic. Russia has not yet recovered from the nazi overrunning she received in World War II and the West insists that European security depends on a strong united Germany tied to the West in NATO. The West virtually says to Russia: "We understand your fear of Germany, so we will guarantee your safety by rebuilding German power."

To reunite Germany as an anti-Communist bulwark is what the US and her lesser partners want. Imagine the situation when this should have been accomplished. "Anti Communist bulwark" was the role Hitler played and it is the role suited perfectly for the rise of neo-nazism, already sprouting thickly in West Germany.

What guarantees will save Russia from attack once nazism is established on the necks of the German people?

Dulles has temporarily won a newspaper round in the reopened cold war, which he much prefers to the 'spirit of Geneva.' For, as the wire services tell it, the "peace-loving" West has been slapped down by the ungrateful Reds.

The final objective of this Western suggestion is a situation wherein pressure may be brought to bear to deliver the peoples' democracies from their socialist 'yokes' and restored to the tender mercies of the capitalist orbit.

Here is what Bishop Janos Peter says about it:

"... not everybody is happy at the prospect of peace. Although compelled by public opinion to pay lip service to the ideas of agreement through negotiation and abandonment of the cold war policy, certain official quarters of the West are attempting to raise barriers in the path of agreement; they are, for instance, challenging the legitimacy of the European people's democratic states. Not only we, Hungarians, and the citizens of other people's democracies, but peaceable people the world over reject these spurious premises, declaring that he who resorts to manoevres of this sort cannot sincerely desire agreement."

(Hungarian Review, Aug., 1955.)

LATOURETTE WHITEWASHES OPPRESSION

In *China Reconstructs* (Oct., 1955) Rewi Alley reviews "A History of Modern China" by Kenneth Scott Latourette, a Pelican issue of Penguin Books, London, 1954. Alley says that "Penguin may have chosen the book because Latourette is a past president of the American Historical Association. Unfortunately, his work shows him to be a bad historian." Here are a few of Alley's comments:

"With regard to the notorious Opium Wars, he states that 'from the British point of view opium was only incidental'. As a historian, he would surely have been wise to read the British parliamentary debates of that time—which show the contrary. In fact opium was "Big Business" in the biggest sense of the word, and the profit hunters had no compunction whatsoever about sending British troops to die for it, just as they had none about poisoning the Chinese people."

"In dealing with the period between 1927 and the Anti-Japanese War in 1937, Mr. Latourette does not hesitate to distort fact. He states that the Communists 'seemed in process of elimination' and that under Chiang Kai-shek 'distinct progress was being made towards unifying the country, towards creating a democratic structure of the kind familiar in the West.' The truth is that the people's forces led by the Communists grew in strength during this period, and carried through the incredibly difficult Long March to the Northwest, where they became the leading and main element in anti-Japanese resistance. As for the Kuomintang, it made no progress whatsoever toward creating any democratic structure. It shed torrents of blood in the service of imperialism and of the most backward and corrupt group in China—the landlords and profiteering officials, whom Mr. Latourette lists among the 'most substantial elements'. This author does not seem to regard the Chinese people as a 'substantial element' at all."

"Ignoring facts, Mr. Latourette asserts that the U.S. made great efforts to bring peace and stability to China in 1945-47, and that the 'tutelage of one party'—the Kuomintang—'was about to end' (even the U.S. State Department's own published documents make no such claim). Finally he tells the sheer, malicious lie that 'on a conservative estimate three to five million people had been executed in the first two years of Communist mastery.' "

These are a few of the mistakes and misstatements Rewi Alley mentions in a 'history', in which he says there are 'many, many more.' He calls attention to Hu Shen's *Imperialism and Chinese Politics* and to Liao Kai-lung's *From Yenan to Peking* as rectifications of this bourgeois whitewashing of imperialism. Latourette is a widely read church historian and this book about China indicates the perspective in which he sees the story of organized religion. It also underlines what was demanded in the last issue: a complete rewriting of the history of Christian institutions.

WILLIAM FAULKNER ON THE MURDER OF EMMETT TILL

"Perhaps the purpose of this sorry tragic error committed in my native Mississippi by two white adults on an afflicted Negro child is to prove whether or not we deserve to survive.

"Because if we in America have reached that point in our desperate culture when we must murder children, no matter for what reason or for what color, we don't deserve to survive, and probably won't."

TAKE DIAMOND KIMM OFF THE HOOK

History has familiarized us with instances of disloyal servants betraying their country, the Benedict Arnolds, the Quislings. We are not so familiar with the betrayal of loyal servants by the country they have served.

Diamond Kimm is a Korean who came to the US as a student. He was an editor of *Korean Independence* (anti-Rhee), with whose English editor, Sang Ryun Park, we have enjoyed a warm friendship. Kimm, a fully qualified metallurgical engineer, served during the Second World War in the hazardous Field Experimental Unit of the OSS, gaining high praise from his commanding officer for his "unselfish patriotism."

At the end of World War II Kimm asked the US government to let him go home to Korea. The US government turned a deaf ear. Then, ten days before the outbreak of the civil war in 1950 he was arrested for deportation on grounds of "overstaying his visa." Later he was ordered deported. He appealed against the order on the grounds that as a critic of Rhee he would face certain death if delivered into Rhee's hands.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service permitted a hearing but didn't hold one until Oct. 20, 1955, when the case still was allowed to remain unsettled and was postponed indefinitely.

If Diamond Kimm is sent to South Korea he faces probable torture and certain death. Meanwhile the country he served so well keeps him dangling in a state of undertainty amounting to mental torture, not knowing what moment he may be seized and delivered into the claws of the fiend Rhee.

There is a section of the Walter-McCarren Law which covers such cases. It states (Sec. 243, Par. h): "The Attorney General is authorized to withhold deportation of any alien, within the United States, to any country in which in his opinion the alien would be subjected to physical persecution..."

Our American readers may wish to use this quotation in the letters we hope they may be moved to write, asking that Diamond Kimm be taken off the hook of uncertainity and be permitted to live a normal life. The address is: Mr. David M. Carnahan, Southwest Regional Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Terminal Island, San Pedro, California.

SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER

"Speak Truth to Power" is, as it is subtitled, "A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence." In the words of Robert Pickus, one of the authors, "It presents a reasoned case for the unqualified rejection of reliance on military power; not in the future . . . but now."

(Progressive, Oct. 1955.)

The Quakers assert that Soviet Communism is not the source of our problems. Wiping it out would not make a peaceful world. But their chief contention is that the nature of military power has so changed of late that it has become impossible to apply it with any rationality or restraint. It runs away with itself.

They go on to argue that America's response to Soviet expansion, having been overwhelmingly a military response, has miserably failed. The principles for which the US stands have been undermined at home and abroad, Marxist repression in Communist countries has increased. We are less secure and the world is less secure. Our moral standards have been debased. Soviet influence has increased along with the appeal of its totalitarian doctrines.

We talk much, the Quakers say, but do practically nothing to diminish poverty, to end colonialism, to disarm. " . . . our military commitment—in its nature an open-ended rather than a limited endeavour—renders us economically, politically, psychologically, and spiritually unable to give effect to the policies that so many agree are necessary if peace is to be won."

They say what is needed is not a black and white vision of the world, black *there*, white *here*, but a grey everywhere, a grey that is positive as well as negative. In other words, there is not only evil on both sides, there is nobility on both sides, and "the recognition of men's common guilt and common nobility is the necessary frame within which a non-military approach must be worked out."

The Quakers quote Gandhi: "There is no escane from the impending doom save through a bold unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method. Democracy and violence go ill together. The states that today are nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent." And, since Gandhi made non-violence politically practical, these Friends accept the challenge and make a serious effort to think their way through to a politics of non-violence. In other words they don't merely sit down on their doctrine. They carry it into the warp and woof of contemporary international politics as a workable alternative to the arms race. They say that today an armed world is madness and to realize that fact is the beginning of common sense.

Gandhi was not a Christian, that is, not nominally at least, and this document of the Quakers is perhaps the first Christian witness of its kind, weaving into the texture of the sinful world the meaning and implication of the prayer: Thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory! Pickus ends his summary thus:

"The study sees the renewal of the sense of community, of mutuality, of responsible brotherhood for all men everywhere as the central problem. Such community is built on trust and confidence, which some will say is not possible because the Communist cannot be trusted. The politics of eternity does not require that we trust him. They require us to love him and to trust God. It is in the politics of eternity that *Speak Truth to Power* finds its roots and final justification."

Note that Pickus does not say that the Communist cannot be trusted. Indeed he might well have added that the politics of eternity does not require that the Communist trust us, but requires him to love (understand) us and trust God (history). His difficulty in this respect will be much greater than ours, for people can usually be trusted to act in their own interest; and, whereas war has been used frequently as a re-vitalizer by capitalistic regimes in their periodic tail-spins, of what possible benefit can it be to a collectivist regime?

Mr. A. Garcia Diaz, one of our most valued correspondents, called our attention to this pamphlet, lamenting that "prominent men like Messrs Dwight MacDonald, Norman Thomas, Reinhold Niebuhr and George Kennan give unmistakable indications of finding a great deal of the proposals in *Speak Truth to Power* to be faulty, unrealistic . . ." Of the five comments published in the *Progressive*, four are unfavorable. The only favorable one is by Karl Menninger, the psychiatrist. "Thus it appears," says Mr. Diaz, "that the doctrine of Might has many more adepts than that of Right. The former divides, injures, destroys; the latter unites, heals, preserves. But the reality of such facts impresses not a whit the adepts of might who, naturally, feel more strongly disposed to accept as inescapable the rule of force than that of reason, of co-operation, of friendship. What a folly! What a human tragedy that is!"

Indeed it is *the* human tragedy! But, notwithstanding the great "minds" ranged against them, the Quakers have friends among the practical and responsible statesmen of the world. One of these is Gandhi's disciple, the Idian leader and Prime Minister Nehru. His renunciation of violent methods in the settlement of the Goa dispute with Portugal is a case in point. "There is nothing more scandalous," says Nehru, "on God's earth today than the Portuguese occupation of Goa . . . It is fantastic nonsense for me to be told that because of an agreement or alliance with

Britain in the 15th century, the Portuguese can hold on to Goa. Let the world take notice. Let the Atlantic Powers take notice that we will tolerate no nonsense about Goa wherever it comes from.

"But we will adhere to the path of peace. I should like anyone to tell me how any other country, situated as India is, would have reacted to Goa in the last seven or eight years . . . Here is a great country like India with dignity and self-respect, with power to deal with the situation swiftly if it chooses, but restraining its strength and power and holding on to peaceful methods. It is a thing unheard of in any other country."

But what if the Portuguese continue to be indifferent to this moral pressure? Says Nehru, "We start from the presumption that they are indifferent, not only to moral pressure but to facts. Nevertheless, we think that their regime in Goa will collapse, and, if they are not careful, their regime in Portugal will collapse."

Here is an example of realistic pacifism in action. It is a friendly warning to a fascist regime of its imminent fall. It reveals the strength of humanist politics and the weakness of imperialism.

But we should all remember that this new kind of politics, the politics of persuasion, could scarcely operate except under the umbrella of a world political situation in which the Great Powers are firmly determined not to attack one another. And it matters not that this determination is from fear of the consequences. The conditions are ripe for the introduction of the methods advocated by the Friends. The Friends are the realists now. And it is Niebuhr and Thomas and the rest who are out of date.

MYSTICISM AND THE WORKER

"My yoke is easy and my burden is light"

In all parts of the world the age-long sleeper, the exploited worker, the product of whose work has been stolen from him and whose dignity has been stripped from him, is awakening at last to realize the injustice of his position and to remedy it.

Since one of the lullabies, which kept him asleep while his wealth was being whisked from under his pillow so that every morning he started out from the exact spot he had started from the previous morning, was organized religion (not religion as *he* organized it but religion as it was

organized *for* him) and since his awakening coincided with the growth of religion) it was a natural reaction for him to turn against all religion. science in the modern world (a growth in most cases opposed by organized

But it was a sad mistake to turn against faith or belief itself, for his whole enterprise is built on faith just as the whole enterprise of science is built on faith. For science is not self-established. It rests on a "belief in the inner harmony of our world." (Einstein-Infeld; The Evolution of Physics, p. 313.) This belief in itself is not a scientific theory. It can never be totally verified. It cannot be written into a formula. It is the motivating force, the without which not, of scientific work. It is the mystical basis of science.

There should be no fear of the term mysticism when it is used in this sence, and it is quite proper so to use it. It is not a mystifying notion. Quite the opposite. It is simply a fundamental faith in the power of the rational mind progressively to build concepts which reveal more and more the order and harmony of the physical world.

Einstein-Infeld continue: "Throughout all our efforts, in every dramatic struggle between old and new views, we recognize the eternal longing for understanding, the ever-firm belief in the harmony of our world, continually strengthened by the increasing obstacles to comprehension." There is the mystical daring, the gamble if you will!—"strengthened by the increasing obstacles." There is an inner kinship, could we see it, between this remark and the similarly paradoxical exclamation of Tertullian. "Credo quia absurdum." And what of that strange cry of Jesus, according to Matthew and Mark his last cry on earth, "Eloi, Eloi, lema sabachthanei," which means, My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?

Non-mystical religion is a hard cold caricature of religion. It is an attempt to put revelation in the place of true religion which is simply realistic living and nothing more. Non-mystical religionists stand outside the door of religion and say there is no door there, or, if there is, it cannot be opened by human hands. But the Canuck axe-helve maker in Frost's poem had opened that door and had walked into the house and made himself easily at home. And so does every honest worker whose integrity is bound up in his work. For at the point of his work he touches the world, the cosmos; he touches it for weal or for woe. A wall well-built will stand, ill-built will fall. Meretricious work, whether in a symphony or an apple pie, will not fit in, will not gear into the operations of the cosmos. They will be rejected. There is a constant sifting of the wool from the shoddy. The spirit of reality speaks to the spirit of reality down through the ages.

You cannot say that a poem is ever ended or catalogued once for all;
in each new age and in each new eye
the word will swell or dwindle,
the grain of dust will be the cornerstone,
the cornerstone will be blown away
like ashes in a storm.
The childish rhyme will become a home-thrust
deep to eternal truth,
And the resonant high-piled line will be
a witless music,
an empty and pretentious tune.
Ever each poem must be tried on by new pilgrims,
and, as it fits, filfills new destiny;
for spirit speaks to spirit
as a child's heart in a secret forest, dark,
beats out quick answer
to the spruce cone suddenly fallen
from the aged spruce.

Poetry and religion are one, for a venture is a singing thing, and all life, science, art, daily living is a venture, and adventure, in some sense a gamble, if you will, and religion is commitment to this venture in work.

In 1913 this writer set forth an activist positive view of mysticism which, so far from turning its back on science, work, and the creative and recreative arts, and history, found in these very activities the mystical life itself. There was historical justification for this view in the lives of Jesus, Paul, Francis of Assisi, the so-called heretical communists, Joan of Arc, all of whom were tremendous activists. But, of the greatest importance for the worker to realize, the lives in all ages, in all places, of workers who found deep satisfaction in their work, who identified themselves with their work, discovered in their work their unity with their world, who work for the work itself, not for its exchange value in terms of money or barter, all these lives were lived in true religion.

This unity is the mystical union with God. There is no other. It is not mystifying. It is not obscure. And it is individual and at the same time for the very same reason that it is individual it is social, individuality and sociality being complementary, not contradictory.

This unitive life is the commonplace of religion and mysticism. Many, however, who write *about* mysticism have difficulty in grasping it.

"Gents," said Blanco Posnet, "there's a great game and a rotten game. I played the rotten game; but *the great game was played on me;* and now I'm for the great game every time."

Blanco Posnet, or his creator, Bernard Shaw, would have been hard put to it to *prove* that the great game was played on him. Something or someone had tricked him into playing a game he hadn't meant to play, but once in it he found it to his taste. "Now I'm for the great game every time."

One of the most devoted and intelligent workers in the cause of social regeneration writes to us: "Your linking of mysticism with social justice is beyond me. I can't see the slighest indication, as things go in this world, that any god/gods watch over human destinies." We have been publishing a religious paper for seventeen years and cannot recall having intimated that we believed what is implied here, namely that *a god*, a being separate and distinct from the world of humanity, leans out over the parapet of heaven and plays favorites with earth's creatures. This is an outside view of religion. And religion cannot be seen except from the inside. For we are in God and He is in us, who are part of His nature. Just as we are the souls of our bodies, so He is the soul of His world. This makes religion the essence of democracy. The old monarchical god was flattering to the kings and lords of the earth. The religion of the prophets and of Jesus turned Caesar into you and me and you and me into Caesar.

"Let the dead bury the dead," said Jesus. In other words, the dead are very dead, so dead that even those who bother with them are dead too. So much for our mortician and burial rackets! True religion would shed them. Flowers for the living, goodbyes for the living, for the dead death! Sounds hard but it is just the opposite. It simply puts the whole accent on life, on living. The soul of the body which *was* living is and always was alive in God, and while God lives that soul lives and always will live. How? Where? These are idle and pointless questions, and even if they could be answered the answers could only be idle and pointless. For you and I have life here and now in this world. We have our work and our recreation, our exhaustion and our renewal. Any thought that reduces the importance of our lives and what we do with them is an evil thought. Pie in the sky is one of the crudest of such thoughts. But life is more than bread or pie, and *all* of life for *us* is *here* and *now*.

Early in the morning on a Montclair street a little boy once said to me, "I just came out to sip the morning air." Of such is the realm of heaven. A women, old and broken in the service of others, wept to see the leaves fall from the summer's trees knowing her own summers would soon be stripped from her life's calendar. Was she wrong to weep? No, she was honest and right. She refused to ease the shock by indulging in an imaginative flight to a 'land that is fairer than this.' She accepted the challenge of passing things which is part of life. She refused to dodge it. She drank life's bitter lees. And, loving life, she wept, and in her weeping were the tears of God.

Wherever life is met honestly and generously, wherever life strikes sparks from the souls of man, there is God, there is mysticism, there is religion.

Surely as we read history and particularly as we read the history of this twentieth century, we can see indications that there has been a growth

of sharing and a diminution of hogging over the face of the earth. It is as if the shadows of meanness and cruelty move back as the earth slowly turns toward the sun of human decency. And this process, apparent today, has been going on for a long time. Buddha, Lao tse, Moses and the Hebrew prophets, the slave rebellions (Spartacus), the peasants' revolt (Thomas Muenzer), the common life systems set up by the Essenes, by the early Christians, by the Moravian Baptists, all these as recorded in history and doubtless others whose records have been lost, are surely indications of a general tendency, an orientation in mankind towards good and away from evil. This trend is not a downhill coast. Far from it. It is an uphill push and yet, strange as it may seem, it is a move towards our own reality. In other words, as we find it, it fits us. "My yoke is easy and my burden is light."

Yet we do "kick against the goads." For it appears to be part of the very price of our manhood, our stature as free agents, that we find ourselves constantly under the temptation to declare ourselves little gods in our own right (much modern humanism has yielded to this temptation). We are tempted to indulge in the conceit that we grow our own hair, we beat our own hearts, we sift the air in our lungs and digest our food. We do none of these things. We don't even sleep. We fall asleep. And while asleep sometimes our greatest problems are solved for us.

The whole modern rage for individualism which is akin to prometheanism is in many respects based on a complete illusion. For if society is divided then the individual is divided and is therefore no longer an individual. When society is one then is the indivdual knit into oneness. And not before. But the individual has declared his independence. And this is a tragedy, the tragedy of our times, a tragedy not only among avowed prometheans and humanists but, perhaps worst of all, among professed religionists, among whom we shall have to place Kierkegaard and his followers, the neo-orthodox theologians. Their self-centredness is pathological. The tension their notions have set up in good Christians appears often to have eventuated in the destruction of their integrity. There is enough tension, enough pull towards evil, in man normally without building it up into an inevitable victorious power. The very self-abasement assumed by this type of theology adds but another dimension to the promethean pride they would destroy: a spiritual dimension. Atheistic humanism is far to be preferred.

Pride may be broken, and tension may be released in action-passion, the act that carries *through*, is perfected, the act which is a purgative, the act in which the actor is also the acted upon. It is the act of love, but not in a vacuum, and not in a church either. We proclaim that this act is being performed every day and in every place where men and women work or play disinterestedly, without regard to fame or fortune, with total regard to the act itself so that what seems hum-drum to the outsider is a wild adventure to him or her who performs the action, is lost in it, wrapped up in it, "long gone" to it.

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